

AN INVECTIVE
AYENSTE
the great and detestable
vice, treason,
wherein the secretest
practises, and traitorous
workings
of them, that
suffred of late
are disclosed.

made by Wycharde
Morysne.

K



A preface to the reders.



DOVBT NOT
gentle reders, but
that if ye haue ben
conuersante in old
histories, & so per-
ceyued both howe

many moo pꝛynces haue ben en-
daungered by treason of theyꝝ fa-
mylyer seruauntes, then by open
warre of theyꝝ enemyes, and also
sene, what ende they come to, that
venture vpon so daungerous an
enterpꝛise, ye woll thynke my la-
bour not euyl employed, whiche
tendeth hole to this ende, that all
subiectes ones being brought in-
to hatred of treason, maye at the
laste fall in loue with their duetie,
and seke truly to serue, where god
hath appoynted theym so to doo.
Foꝛ as the incommodyties, that
a it trea,

A preface

treason byngeth into a common welthe, be exceedynge many, and are ofte tymes the vtter vndoyng of ryche and welthy realmes, so, that kyngdome must nedes prosper and flourishe, where all men stryue, who may best do his due-tye, best serue his countrey in that god and his souerayne lord hath callyd hym vnto. We haue hadde ofte experience, howe euylle they spede, what infamye commeth to them, what ende they make, whiche at any tyme attempte treason against their soueraigne lord and kyng. These, whiche of late, lost their honour, landes, and lyues, are not the fyrste, that haue bene moued with to many benefites, to become traytours, no noz yet the fyrst that came to shamfull death, for soo foule an enterpryse. They haue

to the readers.

have companions, which though they be not able to goo cheeke by cheeke with them, yet they comen nat farre behynde.

Perennius, a man that had receiued wonderful many benefites of Comodus the imperour, where as he sawe, but oone aboue hym, thynkynge that he myght by treason, bynge hym downe, and sette vp hym selfe, trayterously conspired the deathe of Comodus, his lord and maker.

Plautianus another, of all men mooste bounde to Seuerus the emperour, soughte also to dystroie hym, not that euer he hadde receyued any iniurie or displeasure at his handes, but that the blynd desyre he hadde to the Emppre, wrought moche more in him, than coulde al the imperours benefites.

16
A preface

TSeianus as moche bounde,
as any of thother two, euen vpon
lyke cause, thought to haue slayn
Tiberius themperour, his lorde
and mayster. But they came euen
to suche ende, as dydde the Mar-
ques, the lorde Montacute, and
suche other, as by their exaumple
teache all men, that be nat yet we-
rye of their lyues and honestie, to
be ware of treason. Certaynely
who so wayeth, how hard a thing
it is, to enter with any manne in
treason, howe full of ieoperdies,
howe fewe there be, that a manne
maye truste, howe soone menne
maye be deceyued, takynge some
to beare them moch greater loue,
than they do, howe no experience
can soo vtter one man his hart to
an nother, that in suche a case, he
may leaue lyfe in his handes, he
woll,

to the readers.

well, I suppose, moche wonder,
to see any man, thoughe the fyne
foz it, were but the losse of goodis,
so madde to venture vppon trea-
son. Many chaunces make trea-
son, whan it is kepte most secreete,
to appere. An harte, that styлле fe-
leth the stinge of treason, must ne-
des at one tyme oz an other, make
the tonge and countenance part-
takers of his grefe.

Lucilla, syster to Commodus
the Emperoure, hadde appoynt-
ed oone Quintianus to slee her
brother. This traytour waited for
the Emperour at the entrynge in
to the Amphitheatre, and whenne
he sawe Comodus all moste come
to the place, where he intended to
haue slayne hym, his hande, his
tongue, his gesture, his counte-
naunce, coulde suffre his harte to

A preface

be no lenger hyd. So, he hauinge his dagger redy naked, cryed out, befoze the Emperour camme vnder the strooke, This the senate sendeth the. Vppon whiche wordes, he was taken, and Commodus nothinge hurt.

Likewyse, Marcus Antonius of Volterra, was set to kyll Laurence Medices, and had so done, but that he cried befoze, o traitour, which voyce saued Laurence, and disclosed as many as were of that conspiracie.

The same mornynge, that Brutus, and the reste of his felowes, hadde determyned to slee Julius Cesar, it so chaunced, that Cesar commened a greatte space with Gneius Popilius, oone of those that had conspired his deth.

Brutus

to the readers.

Brutus and many mo of his companions were bye, and were caste into suche a feare, that they wylte neyther what to doo, ne what to thynke. They all were a frayde, lest Popilius had vttered the treason vnto Cesar, and wolde euen there haue set vpon hym, sauinge that they perceyued Cesar his countenance nothyng moued, ne his colour any thyng altered. And yet if Cesar had redde the letter, that was delyuered hym, not halfe an houre befoze his deathe, he hadde knowen his enemyes counsel, and myght haue broughte them all to theyr confusion.

The daye befoze, that Sciuinus thoughte to haue slayne Nero, he put an olde rustie dagger, that hadde layne longe by
a v hym,

A preface

hym, to gryndynge. He made his testamente, he made all his bonde men free, he gaue euery one of the a certayne somme of moneye, he caused rollers to be made, to wrap woundes in, by which tokens Michichius his seruaunt, gathered, he wente about some naughty purpose, and so accused hym vnto the emperoure. Sceuius streyghte confessed that his intente was to haue slayne Nero.

This I brynge in, not so moch to shewe that treason woll out, as to make men see, howe god plucketh wyt and prudence from malicious traytours. He hath done so, where treason was intended against Nero, one of the worst princes, that euer the worlde had, and true traytours, he woll suffre
Henry

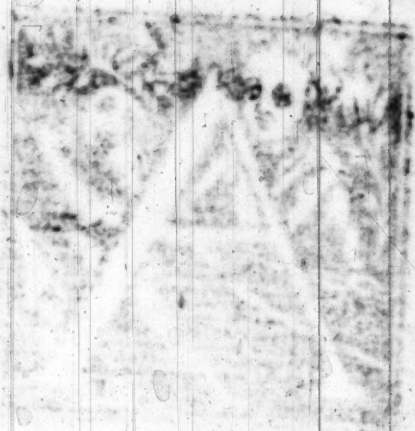
to the readers.

Henry the eyght, his chosen king,
a pynce that chrefelye aboue all
thinges, hath soughte and seketh,
to sette forth his glozie, to restore
his holy worde, to put downe hy-
pocrysie, to banishe idolatry, & fi-
nally to byng this ones to passe,
that al his people, may be as they are
called, that is trewe chrystians :

Rede this lyttell inuective that fo-
loweth, I truste by thynges past,
ye shall perceyue it, very vnlyke,
that any traytour here after maye
or can hurte his highnes. Ye shall
see who is his graces protectour,
from what daungers, he hath pre-
serued hym, and thereby gather an
assured assyaunce, that traytours
can but worke their owne confu-
sion, when so euer they seke to do
his highnes any displeasure. God
hyther=

A preface
hitherto hath wonderfully troden
downe his graces enemyes, styll
shewynge hym selfe to be of
his syde, if he be so styll,
as our trust is, he wol
be euer, be tray-
tour who woll,
he knoweth
his ende.







ALL BE IT That
knowlege my self
neyther so able as
I am wyllynge,
neither soo meete
as I am redye to
write in such a matter, as I nowe
haue taken vppon me, yet tru-
stynge where my wylle is to doo
welle, that thoughe I faylle of
thanke, I shall nat myse of par-
don, I can nat but admonyshe al
my countray men in so plentifull
an occasion; that as the benefites
of god be great, straunge, and al-
moste euery day caste vpon vs, or
ere we can loke for theym, euen so
we woll with thankfull hart shew
our selves to see and fele his godly
goodnes, And where as suche his
fatherly loue is moche aboue our
desertes, that yet we agnise it, and
A as

AN INVECTIVE

as moche as in vs lieth, endeavour
 our selves abundantly to thanke
 hym for it. God is neuer weary of
 doyng good to man, but when
 eyther he wolle not see it, or els seing
 it, refuseth to thanke hym accor-
 dyngly. Can he aske lesse for soo
 many his benefittes then a fewe
 bareyn thanks, which do plesure
 onely to hym for this cause, that
 he therby is made redy and moch
 prouoked to laade vs with some
 newe kyndenesse, with some newe
 benefyttes, with somme newe his
 gyftes. He ofte layeth soze to his
 chosen and elect people forgetful-
 nes of his benefitis toward them,
 commandynge in sondrye places,
 Moses, Josue, Elaias, Hieremi-
 as, Ezechiell, with the reste of the
 prophetes, to reherse his goodnes
 shewed to them, and their unkind-
 nesse

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

nes bittered vnto him, thynkyng
as I take it, that nothyng coulde
sooner byng them to loue hym,
than thoste remembraunce of his
benefytes, nothyng more allure
them to repentance and chaunge
of lyfe, than the iuste reproche of
their vnthankfull harte in suche
a throng of his giftes. I purpose
nat to stande longe in olde places
of scripture, and yet I canne nat
without some hurte of my matter
lette all examples alone. wherfore
I wyl vse a few in place of many.
Moses callyd all Israell to hym,
and sayde in this wise to them: ye
haue seene what god dydde vnto
Pharao for youre sake: what he
dyd to Pharao his host, and al the
reste of his seruauntes, ye haue
sene many myracles, many strange
wonders, and yet god hath not gi-

Deut. 29.

AN INVECTIVE

uen you hartes to feele his good-
nes, eyes to see his tender loue o-
uer you, ne eares to here of any of
bothe. I haue led you forty yeres
in the wyldernesse, and yet your
clothes are not worne : ye hadde
neither breade ne drynke, and yet
to thintent ye shoulde remember
god to be your lord, in lackynge
bothe, you were peyned neyther
with hunger ne thyrste. Schon
kyng of Helbon, and Og kyng
of Basan came with myghty po-
wer agaynst you. They are slayn,
and you the lordes of their landes
and possessions. &c.

Hierem. 2. God also doth expostulate with
the people of Israell by his mes-
sanger Hieremias, saying : what
vnfaithfulnesse founde your fore-
fathers in me, that they departing
from my lawes and loue, folowe
lyght-

AYENST TREASON.

lightnes & vanite: They haue not
ones sithes their deptyre thought
in their hartes, where haue we left
the lord: the lord that brought
vs out of the lande of Aegypt, the
lord that ledde vs throughe the
wyldernes, throughe the deserte, a
rough, drye, and deedly lande, a
lande that no man had passed be-
foze, and where no manne hadde
dwelte. I brought you into a land
passyng full of pleasure, adour-
ned with gay and gorgious buil-
dinges, you enioyinge the frutes
and commodities thereof, went
and defiled my land, and brought
myne heritage to abhominacion.
The prestes them selves (they were
euen the same as many of ours be
nowe) sayd not ones, where is the
lord. The sheperdes offered against
me, the prophetes do seruice vnto

A iii

Baal,

AN INVECTIVE

Baall, and folowe ſuche thynges
as can do them no ſeruiſe. Eſaias
in many places doth alſo com-
morate god his benefites toward
the chyltern of Iſraell. God doth
ſhewe hym ſelfe verpe gladde and
wonderfull deſyrous to employe
his benefitis vpon them that ſeke
to giue him thanks for ſo doing:
and can ſcarſe be brought to leue
ſuch as he hath ones taken to his
fauour. For though their ſynnes
be great, and their offences many
yet as long as he may beare with
them, he ſticketh not to forgyue, ſo
they be not dangerous and coy of
theyr thanks. Dauid lacked no
ſynnes, as al mē know that traueil
in ſcripture, he lacked none: & yet
he had euer one þ̄ forgaue him al.
And not only forgaue him al, but
ſtil laded him with new benefitis.

Da:

AYENST TREASON.

Dauid forgetteth not this syn-
guler goodnesse of god towarde
him, he suffereth not goddis loue
to make any ende with hym, he
styll encreaseth his fauour not so
moche by any merites, as by prai-
synge the vnderferued loue of god.
Loue not solde vnto hym for wo-
kes, but gyuen hym, that he ther-
by might worke. His psalines wel
testifie, that he doth acknowledge
what god dyd for him. He syngeth
oft thankful dities vnto god, as a-
mong many other, thus in the se-
cond of the kynges, The Lorde is Cap. 22.
my rocke, my castel, my deliuerer.
God is my strength, & and in him
wol I trust: God is my shelde, my
fortresse, my refuge. O my keper,
kepe thou me from wrong, I wol
praise the, & call vpon the o lord, &
so shal I be kept fro myn enemies.

86
I will who

AN INVECTIVE

Who so listeth to reade all that followeth, may when he wyl, I haue shewed hym the chapiter. I muste nowe folow present occasion, and talke a whyle with my countraye. **E**nglande, haste thou no cause to folow Dauid, to make himnes and dities of thanks vnto god: when wolt thou perceyue goddis loue towarde the, if thou yet perceyue it not: when wolte thou gyue hym, or to vse a moze apter terme, when wylte thou paye him thanks, if thou nowe denye thy selfe endetted to hym: Thou must confesse dette, thou canste nat denie it, without thy greatte shame. There be to manye wytnesses for thy nay, to take any place: All nations wonder at thy felicitie. All men knowe what ieoperdies thou hast escaped, howe nighe sozowes

brynke

AYENST TREASON,

bynke thou hast ben brought, and
straight howe sone thou haste ben
made gladde. I wylle not calle to
remembraunce thynges past ma-
ny yeres syns, marke but the pro-
cedinges of god with the and thin
these foure or fyue yeres. Weave
well the accidentes, the chaunces,
the progresse, and thende of thin-
ges, that haue fortunied, and than
Englande see, whether thou haue
not mo causes to thynke that god
tendereth the helthe, welthe, and
honoure of thy gouernour, and
oure dere and dzedde soueraygne
lorde: than euer Israell hadde to
thynke so by kinge Dauid, or any
other. He must be well sene in fea-
tes of armes, that shall fynde a
place open, to wound hym, whom
god is buckeler vnto. God wolle
not suffre his purposes, to be al-
tered.

AN INVECTIVE

tered. Man maye seke to destroy,
 that god wolle haue saued, but he
 shall doo as moche, as they that
 seke to make stronge rockes fall,
 with a knocke of theyr hedes. For
 as these labour folyshe, and doo
 but breake theyr owne braynes, so
 do they that thynke to pull downe
 a pryncce, whome god hath chosen
 to reigne ouer his people, bothe
 declare their folpe, and alsoo the
 goodnesse of god in p̄seruynge
 whome he loueth. There is none
 that trewely serueth god, that can
 say, he hath bene in distresse, and
 nat founde succour at his hande,
 and yet compare theym all with
 our moſte fortunat pryncce, they
 haue all founde him no moze pro-
 pence and redy to helpe them: then
 he hath ben to helpe his highnes.
 God leſte not his ſeruaunt Eliſ
 fleinge

3. Reg. 19.

AYENST TREASON.

fleinge the wrothe and displea-
 sure of Jezabell, no he being with
 oute hope of lyfe, and moche de-
 syrpnge to dye, he sent hym an an-
 gell to comforte him, and foode to
 refrethe hym self withall, not con-
 tent with that, but spake to hym,
 hym selfe, as ye may rede, if ye de-
 syre to knowe what god sayde to
 hym. Danuell was caste into a
 denne of lyons, god sente his an-
 gelle to stoppe the lyons mouthe,
 and so Daniell was hurte in noo
 parte of his bodye. God sent his
 aungell to good Gedeon, whanne
 the Madianites had almost ouer-
 throwen the chyldren of Israell.
 He talketh longe with Gedeon, a-
 bydinge his sacrifice with many
 his tentations. Rede the place, ye
 shall perceyue howe god louethe,
 where he lyketh. Josue also sawe
 a man

Daniel. 6.

Judic. 6.

Josue. 5.

AN INVECTIVE

Judith, 13.

a man standyng anenst hym, with
a swerd redy drawen in his hand,
vnto whom he went and sayd, Art
thou our frende, or dost thou take
the parte of our aduersaries? An-
swere was made: I am the chiefe
of the lordes bande. Judith also
had an aungell to her companion
and guyde, whan she went to flee
Holofernes. I coulde brynge in
many mo examples, if my pour-
pose were to enlarge my mattier
that waye. As howe god sent his
aungell to conducte the hooſte of
the Israelites, whan they passed
the sees, and also how he sent his
angell into the fornace, where the
thre chyldren laye in fyre, and felt
no heate. I coulde shewe in what
battailes god hath made his an-
gels souldiours, but that is nat
myne intent. I muste make com-
parisons

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

parysons, and yet I truste they
shal nat be odious. Rede all scrip-
ture, and ye shall fynde no person
that god p̄seruid moze tenderly,
than he dyd his chosen and electe
kyng David. For he beinge as
yet noo kyng, but rather a poore
subiecte of a myghtye kyng, was
in many places persecuted of him
and his host, and yet the goodnes
of god was suche towarde hym,
that he escaped all the snares that
longe set malice had layd for him.
A puyssant prince desyred a poore
mannes deathe, it wolde not be.
Mighty Saule miste of his pur-
pose ageynst sely David, & coulde
not hurte his lytell fynger. Some
percase woll thynke, here to take
holde of me, and say, if god could
p̄serue a subiect against a prince,
it is no meruayle, if he p̄serue a
prince

AN INVECTIVE

prynce a peny a few his vnnatu-
 rall subiectes, a realme a peny a
 few traytours. I muste saye as
 they do, it is no great meruayle,
 that god soo dothe, and yet I saye
 as I sayde firste, our soueraigne
 lord kyng Henry the eight, hath
 moche more cause to gyue God
 thankes, than euer had king Da-
 uid, or Dauid not yet a kyng. For
 as he knewe that kyng Saule
 sought his destruction, and ther-
 by might do what laye in hym, to
 escape his hande, and also by ofte
 intercession, obteyn helpe and suc-
 cour of god, so the kynges high-
 nes of late stode in case farre vn-
 lyke, and in moche more presente
 daunger then he dyd. His high-
 nes was in great peryll, and nei-
 ther sawe it, ne coulde mystruste
 any suche thyng. For if nature, if
 bloud,

A YENST TREASON.

bloude, if moſte ample benefites,
coude haue wrought in ſome, as
they do in all naturall and honeſt
hartes, whome might his grace
haue takē for his more truſty ſer-
uauntes, for his trewer ſubiectes,
then Henry Corteney, late mar-
ques of Exeter, then Henry Pole
late lord Montacute, than Ed-
warde Beuell, late of his graces
priue chamber: I wille talke
with the reſte, whan I ſhall come
to the place, whiche I reſerue for
them. What ſubiectes were more
bounde to their ſoueraigne lord,
I ſay moch more, what men were
more endetted to man, than were
all theſe thre to his highnes: who
in more daunger than his grace,
whiche neyther coude miſtruſte
them, ne yet without his great pe-
ryll truſte them. God promiſynge
ayde

AN INVECTIVE

ayde to them that call vpon hym.
 seldome suffereth innocentes, as
 Job sayth, to peryshe. wherfore
 Dauid hauynge cause to call for
 helpe, and God by his promise
 bound to succour hym, coulde not
 but fynde god good to hym. But
 our moste fortunate kynge, was
 in moste daunger, and in no feare
 ne suspition of lesse. Howe coulde
 his grace suspecte them, whom of
 all men he knewe hadde greattest
 causes to loue hym, to desyre his
 hyghnesse prosperytie and longe
 reygne: His grace dydde not vse
 them as men, whome he mystrusted,
 no he vled moze familiarnesse
 with fewe of his subiectes, than
 he dydde with the Marques, and
 sye Edward Neuyll. wherfore
 as his grace coulde not aye helpe
 sypenste them, whom he toke to be
 the

AYENST TRESON.

the rediest of all menne to spende
theyr bloud, if nede shuld require,
them so to do: Euen so god seinge
what was in hande, thoughte it
hyghe tyme suche ranke and rype
traytours to be reped vp. He saw,
the lesse his highnesse mystrusted
the moze peryll his graces person
stode in, the farder they were from
suspition, the nigher they were to
worke mischef. Our lord be than-
ked, they haue in one houre rydde
this realme of many daungers,
taking their leaue of life, with su-
che shame, as it becōmeth al tray-
ters to do, & as for the moste parte
god be thanked, they are all wont
to do. If lawes were gone, or of
no strength at all, wolde not men
onely moued by the heynousnesse
of treason, thynke all deathes to
fewe for these abhomyable tra-
tours

AN INVECTIVE

tours, all tourmentes, all payne,
all vilany to lytle for them: I am
ashamed, that euer it shulde come
into wrytyng, that there haue ben
among men, some, that receiuing
so hyghe fauour, and so great be-
nefytes, soughte to make hym a-
way, of whom they receiued them,
more ashamed, that suche exam-
ples shoulde be founde amonge
christian men, mooste of all, that it
happeneth so oft here in our coun-
treys. The ciuile lawe, is moche
to be commended, that the master
maye calle hym a peny to bondage
& seruitude, whome he hath made
free, if at any tyme after his fre-
dome, he shew hym selfe vnkyn-
d. The Macedons and Athenians
also, had an action, a comune pley
in the lawe, ayenste suche as were
but in trifles blotted with vnkyn-
nes,

AYENST TREASON.

nes, as a gentle men, that in dede
are enemies to al them, which haue
nede of other mennes helpe. One
vnkynde persone, is oftentymes
the cause, that men haue no wylle
to do good, where they may feare
the lyke. And if it be trewe, that
Gratitude, which is a perpetuall
memozie of benefittes receyued,
and alsoo a desyre to recompense
them, be as a mother of many ver-
tues, forasmuche as there com-
meth from her, loue and feare of
god, loue and feare of our prince,
loue towarde our countreie, loue
towarde our parentes, frendshyp
betwene man and man, venerati-
on of those that bringe vs vp, and
do eyther noysshie our bodyes or
instructe our myndes, we muste
nedes gather it to be true, that Ci-
cero wyrteth to his frende Atti-

AN INVECTIVE

cus, Ingratis vitia inesse omnia, that
is, all vices to be in them, that are
vnikynde. This vice is moche bet-
ter named in our tounge, then it
is, as me thynketh in any other.
Unkynndnesse, is a fytt name for
so vnnaturall a vice: they that fall
into it, go from the kynde of men,
they lose that state and name, that
nature put them in, and are tour-
ned into cruell & vnnaturall bea-
stes. Nowe if vnikyndnes be such
a vice, in what hatred of all men,
ought traytours to be, and tray-
tours to theyr pryncce, and suche
theyr pryncce of whom they had re-
ceyued so innumerable benefites,
and whiche, so many wayes had
declared his synguler fauour and
loue towarde them.

Efor to come at the laste, to the
archetraytour, and to speke some
what

A YENST TREASON

What of hym, whom god hateth,
nature refuseth, all men deteste,
yea, and all beastes to, wolde ab-
hoire, if they could perceiue, how
moche biler he is, then is euen the
worste of them, what man wolde
euer haue thought, that Reynold
Dole coulde haue ben by any gif-
tes, by any promotion, by any
meanes in this worlde, broughte
from the loue, whiche for so many
the kynges high benefittes, of all
men, he ought his grace the moste
who wol yet beleue, that knowith
it not to be true, that a manne so
bounde to loue, can hate, so bounde
to serue, can brede traytours, stir
sedition, intende his deathe, for
whome he ought with all harte to
haue shedde his beste bloud, reke-
nyng the losse of his owne lyfe
well spent, so that his hyghnesse
might

AN INVECTIVE

might thereby be preserved, I wol
not say from deth, but from perill
and danger. Howe many fathers
haue bene more tender ouer their
sonnes, than hath his grace bene
in byngynge vp the, thou false
Pole, thou shamefull and shame-
les traytour, from thy chyldehode,
euen tyll within these two yeres.
What letters wrote his highnes
in thy fauour to the Venetians,
at thy firste goinge into Italye?
What credyte, what estimation
couldst thou haue ben in there, if
thou haddest come alone without
his graces commendation: what
was in the, at thy firste going thi-
ther, besyde thy famylpe, worthye
any gret estimation: Thou migh-
test haue come with thy byrth and
familie, & haue founde fewe there
that wolde haue esteemed the for
them

A YENST TREASON.

them, sauyng for his graces sake.
His graces fauour, whom at that
tyme the byshop of Rome and his
adherentes, honoured aboue all
princis in Chrystendome, wonne
the thy frendes there, if they may
be callid thy frendes, whom thou
so takest to be, not knowyng who
be thy frendes, and who thy foes,
beinge thy selfe of all men mooste
ennempe to thy selfe. Thou sus-
credst thy self to be callid the king
of Englandes nephewe, this title
beinge fals, wrought moche, and
made manye in loue with the for
thy nobilities sake. And yet thou
gottest not so many that waye, as
thou dyddest by reason it pleased
the kynge of his goodnes to giue
the, besyde thyne owne reuenues,
perely an hundredth ponde out of
his cofers. It is a wonderfulle
B iiii thing

AN INVECTIVE

thinge to see the diuersitie of nature, howe grate and kinde some be, and howe vnnaturall and vnkind some other be. Many thinke them selfe to owe lyfe, and all the reste, to him that doth but a mean good tourne for their frende, and canste nat thou, receiuyng so many, so great benefites, thy family, thy mother, thy brethren, so many wayes bounde to his hyghenesse, auoyde treason? Thou hast redde manye notable hystories, that might haue kept thy cancred nature, at the leste from treasone, yf they coulde a wrought no farther in the. Howe many slaues do we rede of, that haue liued with their maisters in great seruitude & miserie, whyche yet soo loued theyr maisters, that they chose eyther to dye for theym, or els to dye with them.

AYENST TREASON

the p'm. althoughe he was a

¶ Philotimus a seruaunt and a
 slaue, a lyttell befoze his mayster
 dyed, was made heire of all that
 he left. Marke his true stomake,
 thou muste nedes condemne thyn
 vnfaithfull fals and trayterous
 harte. Whan the deed corps was
 caste into the fyze, he remembryng
 what a true seruaunte oweth to a
 good mayster, forgate, not onely
 the goodes that were bequethed
 hym, but also contempnyng his
 owne lyfe, lept into the fyze, thin-
 kyng trewe seruyce not to ende
 where lyfe remayneth. Here as I
 doo nat lyke this Philotimus to
 hote loue, oz to save as I ought,
 his rashe deathe, so I doubte nat
 but there be in Englande manye
 seruantes, that wolde a thousand
 tymes hasarde their lyfe, rather

B b

than

AN INVECTIVE

than their maister shuld be in any ieoperdy of his.

Marcus Antonius beinge overcome of Augustus the emperor, delyuered vnto Etos his seruaunte a swerde, requirynge to be rydde, ere his enmyes shuld take hym. Etos toke the swerde, and quickly turnyng it thought it lesse shame, yea, lesse hurte, to kyll hym selfe then to kyll his master. I coude tary and fyll myne oration with suche examples, but neyther to the, Wole, it nedeth, nor to the, suche a traytour, it boteth: thou hast red them as well as I, yea thou knowest, that very dogges, vnto whome theyr master could neuer giue more then meate and drinke, haue oft died for their master, oft slayne them that slewe hym. I wyll byynge in an example

ple

AYENST TREASON.

ple oꝝ two, not that I thynke they
can do the any good, but that they
maye set out thynne abhemynable
vnikyndenes, to thy shame & con-
fusio. It is notable, that authoꝝ
wyte of kynge Lysymachus his
dogge, whiche neuer left his lord
and mayster, but was in all hun-
tynges, in all warres, in all ieo-
perdies at hande with him. At the
last when he saw his master deed,
and cast into the fyre, as the ma-
ner of burial was then, the dogge
a gret whyle moꝛnefully yowling
and lamentynge the deathe of his
mayster, caste hym selfe even into
the fyre also, and there died by his
mayster. Pliny writeth, that Hie-
ro kynge of the Syracusans, had
a dogge, which did even the same.
It is moꝛe notable, that wyters
leau in memoy of a Romaynes
dogge,

AN INVECTIVE

Dogge, whiche Romaine was put
 to deathe when Titus Fabinus &
 his famlye were slayne. This
 dogge wolde away from his mat-
 ster, for no strypes, for no whyp-
 pyng, but laye by the deed body,
 and styll howled wonderfull moz-
 nyngely, many of the Romaines
 standyng about & moche meruay-
 lyng at the true faith & harte that
 that sorre woyme bare vnto his
 mayster. At the laste, when they
 thought the dogge hungrye, one
 of the staders by gaue him meate,
 whiche he straighte carped to his
 maysters mouth, and left it there.
 Shortly after the body being hur-
 led into the floudde of Tyber, the
 dogge lept in after, and gate hold
 of his mayster, keppynge hym a-
 boue water as longe as he could.
 If the lawes hadde prouyded no
 peine

AYENST TRESON.

payne for treason: were not these
examples ynough, to make men
feare such traytors, as thou arte
with theyr teethe: If men wolde
spare the, wold not dogges pur-
sewe a beaste thus overwhelmed
with all kynde of treason: A beaste
so false to his soueraygne lord,
and suche his souerain lord: How
be it, if thou be as I surely thinke
thou arte, he is moche more thy
frende, that wysheth the ded then
a lyue. Treason can neuer lye a-
lone in a traytors harte, it hath
suche a rablemente with it, that
deathe is pleasure, if it be compa-
red with the gripes, the woundis,
the tossynge and turnoylyng, the
heauyng and shouyng, that trai-
tors fele in their stomackes. As
god helpe me, I can not thynke,
but god euen of very purpose re-
serueth

A N I N V E C T I V E

serueth the alpye, onely because
thy lyfe hath many mo tourmen-
tes, moche more shame in it, then
any cruelle Deathe can haue. God
by thy lyfe declareth what rest thy
trayterous soule shall haue after
the eternall shame of this worlde,
For he that hath to dwelle where
thou arte sure to be, excepte thou
amende, muste be exercysed with
suche panges as thou arte, & euer
in his lyfe lerne what hell hath,
what intertepnement they haue
that take by their lodgyng there.
What greater tourmente can be
wysshed vnto the, thā al the world
to knowe, that thou by these ab-
homyable treasons, haste cast a-
way thy famylie, whiche myghte
haue continued in honour, distei-
ned thy bloud, whiche befoze was
myngled with a kinges, and now
is

A YENST TREASON.

is farre vnder a colpers : what
greater shame can comme to the,
then to be the dishonour of all thy
kynne, a comforte to al thyne en-
mies, a deathe to all thy frendes :
All men that loue trouthe, allegi-
aunce, and honestie, muste nedes
be thyne enemyes, all men muste
hate the, yea, thy mother her selfe
shall thynke her self worthy deth,
if she hate not the aboue all crea-
tures. All they, whom frendeshyp
and affinitie hadde in tyme paste
knitte vnto the, wyshe for no trai-
tours deth so moche as they doo
for thyne. O Pole, o hute pole,
full of popson, that woldest haue
drowned thy countrey in bloudde,
thou thoughtest to haue overflo-
wed thy pryncce and soueraygne
lorde, thou thoughtest with thy
traiterous streames to haue over-
runne

AN INVECTIVE

counne all to gether. But god be
 thanked, thou arte now a Pote
 of lytel water, and that at a won-
 derfull lowe ebbe. Can I wyshe
 the any moze hurt, than that thou
 mayste lyue longe in suche shame,
 in suche infamie, as I thynke ne-
 uer traytour was in? I thinke as
 obstinate a wretche as thou art, if
 the falle of thy familpe nothyng
 moue the, that yet the voyce of
 thy countrey, whiche sommetyme
 wissheth the deed in thy fyrst clou-
 tes, sometyme hanged, sometyme
 in helle with thy great master, the
 dyuelles bycat aboute thy necke,
 were inough to make the chose a
 tree, and there to doo as Judas
 the capitayn of traytours, whom
 thou trayterously folowest, dyd.
 Hast not thou moch greater cause
 to say, as Job dyd, than euer had
 Job?

AYENST TREASON.

Job: who euer myght better say,
than thou: who ought sooner to
crie thā thou: Cursed be that day
that I was borne in, let that daye
perish, & the night also, in y^e which
it was said, there is a knaue child
cōceiued. let that day be turned in
to darknes, let god neuer regarde
it, let neuer light shine vpo it: but
euen to the worldes end be it coue
red with eternall darkenes. Lette
the dymme cloude fall vpon it, let
it be lapped in with sorowe, let the
darke storm ouercome that night,
let not the daye that I was borne
in, be rekened amouge the dayes
of the pere, noꝛ counted in the mo-
nethes. Let them that dispice that
night, and curse the day, curse al-
so the mornynge that folowed my
birthe, let it loke foꝛ lycht and see
none, bycause it shyt not vppe the
wombe

AN INVECTIVE

wombe that bare me. Alas whye
died I not euen in my birth: why
dydde not I perishe as sone as I
came out of my mothers wombe:
why set they me vpon theyr knees,
that nowe do bynge them all ey-
ther to deathe, or shame, felowe to
any deathe: Why gaue they me
sucke with theyr brestes, that now
haue lefte no bloud ne life in their
bodies: Wherefoze is light gyuen
to hym that is in miserie, and lyfe
to them that haue heuy hartis, life
to them that longe for deathe, and
serche for it more than euer they
dyd for any treasure? Thou maist
o wycked traytour say, what thou
lyste, but thou canste thynke lyttel
better of thy selfe, thanne all thy
countrey thinkith. This I know,
thou hast causes no than a thou-
sande to say all this and more to.
The

AYENST TREASON.

The byshop of Rome & his god-
ly sowers of trefon, thought they
had spun a wonderful fine threde,
and weaved a gay pece of worke,
whan they gate this Raynarde to
play the traytour in a Cardinals
apparell, thinkynge, ye and kno-
wynge by their longe experience,
no garmente so fitte for oone that
wolde take suche an enterpryse v-
pon him. This is a weede, that sel-
dome growethe, where any good
corne is, but it hath the ouerhand
and distropeth it gayely. He was
made, yea marie was he, a great
legate, sent with moche authori-
tie, but he retourned as wyse as
they that thought he coulde haue
wroughte myracles. The sworde
was set to the king of Scottis be-
foze, we being than encōbred with
sedition and rebellyon at home,

AN INVECTIVE

this gay legate rydeth after, to se whether he were able to make the kynge of Scottes to pulle it oute of the sheath, and vse it according to his intente that gaue hym the gyft. was there euer beast, so maliciousely sette to vndo his coun-
 trey, for the whiche many menne haue gladly dyed: or euer any stone hart, that so enuironned with a kynes benefites, wold let none of theym enter into it? so blynde, that in suche a number coulde see none: so vngrate, that seinge soo many, wolde be moued by none of theym. What can thyn enemies, whiche are not only all englyshemen, but as many as euer knewe whatte honestie meaneth, what can they all wyshe the woys, than that thou mapste neuer dye, and euer fele that, that traytours
 of

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

of thy sorte are sure to fele : But
percase, as all our countrey men
do deteste and abhorre this pesty-
lent Cardinal, as the vnnatural-
lest beast, that euer pꝛince besto-
wed benefite on : so, fewe oꝛ none
do knowe, howe moche the mar-
quese of Exetter, and the loꝛde
Montacute, this traytours bro-
ther, were bounde to the kynges
highnes.

Fyꝛst the Marquise of Exceters
father, by king Hēry the.vii. most
noble father to our moſte Dꝛadde
ſoueraygne loꝛde that nowe reyg-
neth, was foꝛ certayne treasons
committed to pꝛiſon, where he lay
in teoperdie of loſſe of landes and
lyfe, vntyll the deathe of the ſayd
kyng. And not withſtandynge
there were gret and weighty mat-
ters layde aꝓenſt hym, yet our ſo-

AN INVECTIVE

uerayne lord that nowe is, hadde
 not only pardon hym of his lyfe,
 and restore him to his landes and
 honoure, but toke this his sonne
 into his priue chaumber, vsynge
 hym there moch more lyke a com-
 panyon, than a seruaunt, always
 encreasynge his landes and reue-
 nues after suche sorte, that if he
 hadde nat bene to vnnaturall, he
 coulde neuer haue loued his own
 lyfe halfe so moch, as the kynges
 welth & honour. A cruell change,
 for most loue, to render grettest ha-
 tred. O fondnes, who might not
 haue ben content to serue suche a
 mayster, to be subiecte to suche a
 prince, yea, what mā being thone
 and not thother, being a subiect &
 not a prince, wolde not rather de-
 syre to do his duetie to so noble, so
 gentle, so hygh a prince, so louing
 a mai-

A YENST TREASON.

a mayster, then for to take frome hym his maiestie, yea, though he were sure to byng his trayterous purpose to effect: But what thing doth not blinde ambitio attempt: his mouthe was euer full of these praty sayinges, I truste to see a chaunge of this worlde, knaues rule about the kyng: but I trust one day to gyue them a buffet. he can be no subiecte, that shall buffet rulers aboute a kyng, no, he thought to be none, when he commaunded Kendall his manne to make as many men in a redynes as he coulde, whiche myght serue within an houres watynge. He thoughte to haue worne the garlande, when he tolde his frendes, I truste to haue a fayre dape ouer these knaues that rule aboute the kyng: I trust to se a mery worlde

AN INVECTIVE

one daye. But yet se howe he was
deceyued, god that hath wether at
wyl, wolde not so moche as gyue
hym a fayre daye to dye in, all his
mirth is ended for this worlde, al
ioye is paste, he is gone, and hath
lefte to his sonne and heyre no-
thyng but sorowe, nothyng but
myserie, excepte the kynge of his
mercy beate hym more loue then
his father dyd. These be the fayre
days that god sendeth vnto tray-
tours, this is the mythe that they
come to: our lord sende all tray-
tours the lyke mythe. Surelve
they that be as these were, do but
deceyue theym selves, if they loke
for any better ende then they had.
God punisheth none so soone as
vngate persons, bycause he wold
haue vs not vngate vnto hym.
And yet he hath evermore gra-
uouly

AYENST TREASON,

thouſt p puniſhed ſuche as ſhulde
rebell and worke ſedition againſt
theyr hedes & rulers. Choſe Da-
than and Abiron, make make all
men that canne lerne to aduoyde
theyr owne hurte by theyr neygh-
bours, obey where they ought to
obey, ſerue where they oughte to
ſerue, and not to repine, ne to take
vpon them rule, where god hath
appoynted them to be ruled. You
may rede howe god ſcurged theſe
thre, howe the erthe brake vnder
theyr fete, and ſwalowed them vp
with theyr tabernacles & all theyr
ſubſtaunce, howe they went alpye
into hell, there teſtifyenge what
punishment god hath prepared
for rebelles, for traytours, for men
diſobedient to theyr hedes and ru-
lers. what loſte our fyrſte father
Adam by his gay enterpryſe, whi-
che

AN INVECTIVE

che thought to haue a fayre daye,
 a merve tyme : what losse he for
 ones disobeinge, for theatynge of
 an apple : a small thyng, but e-
 uen all mankynd. He was in Pa-
 radise a place pleasaunt, beyonde
 all pleasures, almoste all howres
 talkynge with god almyghty, the
 eatynge of an apple brought him,
 that he durste not shewe his face.
 God cryeth to hym : Adam where
 arte thou : oute of what pleasure
 haste thou put thy selfe : and in to
 what myserye : I maye saye, O
 Marques, where art thou : where
 is the fayre day thou lokedest for :
 where is thye garlande : Some
 men perchaunce woll saye, they
 haue suffered for theyr trespasse,
 they shulde nowe be at rest. I an-
 swere, thynges are wrytten not so
 moche for malyce to the men, as
 for

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N,

for the hatred that every man ow-
eth to treason. There is no wyter
that can set theyr name and fame
in worse case then it is. All shame
is in them, whom treason hath de-
fyled. The raunsome of treason is
more thā losse of life and goodes.
Mens tonges and penne, whan
deathe hath done what she maye,
are bounde to worke ayenste trai-
tours as moch as they may. Trai-
tours are euen styll to be rated, no
lesse then if they were a lyue and
styll in fulle pourpose to bynge
theyr tresons to passe.

¶ Nowe on the other syde, was
the lord Mountacute nothyng
in the kynges debte: was not also
his mothers landes losse, she a
pooze gentyll woman, dwellynge
amonge the systers of the Syon,
he a pooze gentyll manne, not ha-
uyng

A N I N V E C T I V E

upnge a fote of lande towarde his
lyupnge: was it not a thyng woꝝ
thy thankes, to comme from no-
thyng to. iii. 02. iiii. thousande
marke lande, his mother to haue
this foꝝ her lyfe, and he to enherite
it after her decease: had not this
traytour caule to haue ben a true
subiecte to his pꝛynce, a trewe ser-
uante to his mayster: was he not
bound aboue a great foꝝt of men,
to loue the kinges welthe and ho-
nour, to serue his maiestye with
all lopall harte and obeysaunce.
Myghte not this fonde oꝝ rather
detestable traytour, haue talked &
dreamed of other thynges, then of
the kynges deathe, whiche oure
lord kepe of, euen as longe as na-
ture with his helpe may maintein
lyfe, and all other that wold other
wyle, to folowe Montacute and
his

A YENST TREASON.

his felowes : Myght not he haue
ben content with this world, and
the state he was now in, leaupng
his lewde prophesies of the world
to come of the tyme that shoulde
make hym & his mery, if he might
tary it : he might, if god had not
ben as contente to leaue hym, as
he was despyrefull to flee god, and
to kepe downe his worde and te-
stament. For as goddes ioye is to
be with men, that take ioye of his
presence, so beinge lefte and forsa-
ken, though his despye be to do o-
therwise, he leueth and forsaketh.
This I dare say, if these men had
not ben enemies to the gospel, ha-
ters of goddis worde, they coulde
neuer haue fallen in to suche an
abhomyable sorte of treasons.
Who knoweth not how these, that
are now deed, howe the Marques
and

AN INVECTIVE

and Montacute abhorred not only all readyng of scripture, but also all reders of it. It was a cryme iudged greate inoughe for to put any theyr seruauntes out of scruple, if they were spyed with a newe testamente in theyr handes. whether Reynolde that traytour, put this in theyr heedes, or whether god thought it best, that they had chaplayns accoꝝdyng to their hartes, menne desyꝛefull to kepe them styll from the knowlege of their duties, from the light of gods worde, whiche they hated aboue all thynges, I woll not discusse: the sayinge is, they bothe dyd well theyr partes. As for Reynolde, I am assured, he ceased not to kepe his bꝛetherne in errour, which sent his mother word, that if he knewe her to be of the same opinion

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

opinion, that þ king is of, he wold treade her vnder his fete, mother his, as she was. what beast could vse suche langage to his mother, excepte he had vtterlye forgotten the reuerence, that nature techeth all creatures to ward their parentes? what pestilent harte reigneth in hym, that hath suche a rancour to goddis worde, suche a stomake ayenste the truthe? Thou, thou Raynolde art the very pole, from whence is poured all this poison. Thou haste slaine thy brother, the Marques, and thyne other brother was at deathes dooze. But for as moche as it pleased god to saue Geffreys lyfe, and to tourne the vyolence of the knyfe to his saluation, to the safetie of the kynges highnes, and to the welthe of the hole realme, the kynges grace
taketh

AN INVECTIVE

takethe it to be goddis pleasure,
 that Geffrey yet die not, and hath
 pardoned hym all his offences, so
 that his clemencie hath saued Gef-
 frey, whome thy knauiſhe letters
 and meſſangers had broughte to
 the galowes. Great pitie it is, so
 sayth he, and al the rest, that euer
 thou sawst lyght. Say what thou
 canst, poure out thy porſon, ſem-
 ble, diſſemble, the wrathe of god
 layeth vp ſozowes for the, thou
 ſhalte neuer eſcape his handes,
 thy cappe, thy hatte wolle couer
 treason no longer than he lyſteth:
 they wylle beare of but eaſpye,
 whan he begynneth to ſmyte. I
 playnely proteſt, I am thyn ene-
 my, and ſommetyme wolde fayne
 here tell, that thou were ſerued as
 thy demerites be: ſommetyme I
 wyſhe the to lyue euer, neuer oute
 of

AYENST TREASON.

of shame, alwayes in infamye,
with all the reste of suche compa-
nyons as wayte vpon traitours.

The byshoppe of Rome, great
captayn of errours, hath as fitte
a chapleyne of hym, as he coulde
haue picked out in an hole world.

The byshoppe wolde nothyng to
be wrytten ageynste suche abuses,
suche idolatrie, suche heresies as
he maynteyneth. Reynolde wolde
in noo case reade any thyng, that
dothe not maynteyne al thre, they
bothe agree in this, to make their
abode, to sticke and vtterly cleaue
in that, they sucked in, of their er-
ronious nurse, Longe Custome.

There be many in England, that
knowe Reynolde right well, there
is not one of them all, that canne
say and lye not, that he wol either
abide any wryter, any preacher, or

D

any

AN INVECTIVE

any priuate cōmoner, that swar-
ueth from his trade.

Alexander beinge al his lyfe in
warres, toke it to be an excedinge
foly for a iudge to pronounce his
sentence, hearynge but thone par-
tie, and had in custom, whan any
tale was brought to hym agaynst
any man, to stoppe one of his ea-
res, sayenge to theym that asked
hym what he ment by doinge soo,
I muste kepe one eare for his an-
swere, that nowe is accused. Dole
hath redde moche, whiche thinge
dothe stepe a man in errour, and
not help hym out of it, if he chaw
the sence of scripture, as he lyst,
and wyngge oute suche iuyce, as
his fantasie corrupted afore, there
nowe seketh. Saynte Paule had
readde moche, euen whan he per-
secuted Christis flocke, and of no
thing

AYENST TRESON.

thyngge so moche as of scripture. You see men coulde neuer tourne his hart. God hym selfe was fain to put to his voyce, to stryke his bodye blynde, and to enlyghten ther with his soule. Saynt Augustine had redde moch, and was very conuersant in the scriptures, & yet he was a great whyle in the heresyes of the Manichees, and thought that scripture was of his syde. Many disputed with hym, they all founde, that stubburnesse dothe no where so moch hurte, as whan it lyghteth vpon great wittes, furnished with moch lerning. Plato saith, smalle wyttes do neuer moche hurt in a comon weale, the great be they that do the great hurte. The byshoppe of Rome thought hole bothe of great lernynge and of great parentage, so
D it that

AN INVECTIVE

that euen polycie taughte hym a
 ioly poynt of folye. The byllshop
 thoughte to worke by him a feate
 mete for oone in his place. Pole
 cam somewhat to late into France,
 at the laste commotion. If he had
 comine in season, he wolde haue
 playde an hardier part than Aske
 dyd, he wolde surely haue ieoper-
 ded bothe his eyes, where Aske
 ventured but one. He wolde haue
 had not only a foote in their bote,
 but in spite of Aske and his com-
 pany, wold haue ruled the sterne.
 He came to late, great pite, he had
 not putte Aske oute of his office.
 Howe be it whan he sent Holland
 with his message to Gessrepe his
 brother, that they shuld not sturre
 while he came, he thought to be at
 the begynnyng of the breakfast,
 to the whiche the Marques was
 byd-

A YENST TREASON.

bydding styl his gesses. He wold
haue brought in that mery world,
which his brother Montacute stil
loked for, euermoze afrayde lest
he and his shoulde not tarpe that
mery tyme. Why was he afrayde
trowe ye? he was no sycke man,
his yeres were not soo many, but
he moughte haue lyued for age &
great season. He feared, it wolde
chaunce as it now hath done, he
thought treson could not so lōg be
kept close. O Reynolde, you haue
taryed to longe for hym. He may
wyshe as many a man dothe, that
ye had ben hanged the day before,
you sente that message home. he
woll not sturre, whyle you come.
God put it in your hedde to take
your viage shortly. Thy capitain
and thou both, with his hole clou-
try of Carnalles, wepe I dare say

AN INVECTIVE

yet, to remember the Northerne
insurrection, to here suche a rage,
suche a furie of people, so swaged,
so quietted, no stroke stricken. You
feare, you feare, ye haue good
cause so to do, lest other pynces
do gather therby, both the syn-
gular loue of god towarde our moste
godly kynge, and also the hatred
that he beareth to your pestylente
ambitiō, abhominable lyues, and
doctryne moche worse then your
liuing. Certes to say as I thinke,
it were great pitie ye shoulde lyue
any better then ye do, excepte you
wolde fyrste agree, that god and
his worde myght reygne, and you
serue your pynces accordynge to
it. He that had dwelte in the syn-
kynge chanal of Paule Bishoppe
of Rome, his bosome, or in the
synke of Dole & his fellowes sto-
makes

AYENST TREASON

makes, that day, that the newes
were brought to Rome, of thende
of our hurly burly in the North,
he shoulde haue sene them stryken
in a wonderfull dompe, he shulde
haue sene griping at their hartes,
syghes walkynge to and froo, at
sorowes commaundment. Sure-
ly they hadde no myschaunce this
many yeres so great, as was that
our good chance, to them. There
came noo plage of god this longe
season vppon theym, that moued
them moze, then that so manifeste
the goodnes of god shewed vpon
vs. Ah lord, thy prouidence is won-
derful, thou blyndest, thou geuest
lyght, thou hardnest, thou dost en-
tre where thy pleasure is. Some
runne faste, and yet come shorte,
bycause they lose the waye: some
tary long, and yet be forrest. thou

AN INVECTIVE

appoyntest a tyme to call in thyn
 electe, that wander, thou turneste
 they hartes to the, when thy plea-
 sure is, that strayed amonges the,
 whiche were and be ferdest frome
 the. Of all the miracles and won-
 ders of our time, I take the chāge
 of our soueraygne lordes opinion
 in matters concerninge Religion,
 to be euen the grettest. There was
 no prynce in Christendome, but he
 was fatte liker to haue chaunged
 then our souerayne lord, he was
 they pyllet, and bare them vyppre a
 great whyle: they gaue hym faire
 titles for his so doinge, and hono-
 rid his name in al their wrytingis,
 was it not a wonderfull worke of
 god, to get his grace from them to
 hym: To make hym they ouer-
 throwe, whom they had chosen for
 they defendour. I haue oft bidden
 my

AYENST TREASON.

my countrepe menne to marke the
pcedynges of god, sythens this
change, with HENRY the VIII.
his chosen lieutenāt in England,
and our onely loꝝde and heed vn-
der Chꝛiste and his father, I styll
say, as I haue sayde, who so mar-
keth, howe tenderlye god pꝛeser-
ueth his highnes, he is eyther ex-
cedyng blynde, oꝛ els he wel per-
cepueth god to be ennemye to all
thē that loue not his grace. wher-
befoꝛe he was callyd kynge, and
yet had apenst all right and equi-
tie a ruler aboue hym, whiche al-
wayes enforced hym selfe to kepe
his hyghnesse, and all the reste of
his subiectes in seruitude, errour,
and idolatrie. God hathe made
him, as al his noble progenitours
of right ought to haue ben, a full
kyng, that is, a ruler, and nat ru-
led

AN INVECTIVE

led in his owne kyngedome, as o-
ther were. God hath deliuered his
highnes from the bondage of the
byschoppe of Rome, his subiectes
from errors, his realme from the
foule sinne of idolatry. Ignorāce,
a childe that the byshop of Rome
lefte here, with his monkes and
friers to be fostred, & made strōge,
is takynge her leaue, wolde god
her passeport were made, and she
fente froine whens she came. But
she hath ben so cherished, so made
of in this realme, that lothe she is
to departe. She hath many fren-
des, and trustethe by the helpe of
them to be made denyzen, and soo
to chaunge her apparel, and to do
moche moze hurt in parishe chur-
ches, thā euer she dyd in cloisters.
But I truste, as god hath shewed
what hurte commeth of her and
hers,

AYENST TREASON

hers, so he wll pꝛouide a way, to
see, that she and hers haue lesse to
do. The people begynne to know
what they that be curates oughte
to pꝛeachē, and what they ar bound
to folowe, and yet they do but be-
gynne. Wolde god some were ap-
poynted to take them foz the newe
lessōs. They haue longe sithens
begon to knowe their duetie to-
ward god, their obedience to their
pꝛince, the loue they ow vnto their
neighbour, and yet they be styll
atte the begynninge. Foz yf they
were fully taught, but in these.iii.
poyntes, I dare pꝛomysse, my lyfe
to lye vppon it, the frutes of this
knowledge shuld be such, as wold
enfoꝛce all chꝛistian pꝛincis, to fo-
lowe the steppes of oure noble
pꝛince. I remember howe kynge
Josaphat sente many of his no-
bles

AN INVECTIVE

bles with prechers, that is, trewe
letters oute of the worde of god,
throughe all Iurie, and howe all
the worlde feared his power, after
that god was preched in his king
dome. I truste as our moste pru-
dente kynge ceaseth nat to sende
his holssome and godly proclama-
tions abroad, that so one day men
shall be sent after them, to se what
effecte they take, what successe co-
meth of them, where they worke,
& where they be ydle, where they
haue fre passage, and where they
be stopped. But leauyng newe oc-
casions, whiche leade me to newe
purposes, I wol retorne, and fo-
lowe that I toke in hande. This
laste sedition, besyde many other
commodities, that it wrought in
this realme, hath made the peo-
ple, and in especial those where it
reigned

AYENST TREASON.

reigned moſte, very glad to here,
very deſyrefull to make amendes
to God and their Prince, for that
they offended bothe afore. I haue
herde dyuers men ſay, that three
or foure preachers may doo more
good in the northe countrey in two
or thre monethes, than hath bene
done in theſe ſouthe parties, theſe
two or thre yeres, only bicauſe the
people be ſo redy to take what ſo
euer the preacher ſhall offer vnto
theym: ſoo that if the people be
naught ſtyll, the faulte is no more
theirs, for they wold fain be good.
They ſe god louith no rebellions,
no diſobedience, if god had done
nothyng for the kynge, ſythens
that tyme, was not that one bene-
fyte inoughe, to bynde his grace,
and all theym that loue this his
realme, euermore to thynke vpon
goddis

AN INVECTIVE

goddis goodnes alwayes to giue
hym thākes, and yet styl to thinke
thankes vngpuen: All bokes can
shewe, no suche sedition so quie-
ted, no suche rage soo peasibly as-
swaged, and yet at the fyrste, as al
men lyked the ende, soo was there
an other thyng, that men, whiche
fauour the peace and quietnes of
our countrey, thought somewhat
amysse. Menne were wonderfull
gladde, that harneys was put of,
and weapons layde downe, but
they were sozie, that the deceyuers
of the simple & poze subiectis, had
after their pestilent pilgremages,
pardon. It is ofte to be remem-
bred, howe god prouided both for
the sozte deceyued, and also howe
vpon newe treason committed, he
wolde the ranke capitaynes, to te-
stifie vpo the gallows, that trai-
tours

AYENST TRESON.

tours muste come to shamefulle death. And yet is there moze, even concernynge the same matter, to be marked. where as it pleased the kyng of his clemency and tender loue, that his grace beareth to the lyfe of his subiectes, to satisfye the rigor of the lawes, with a few of their dethes, god hath this last sommer by strange kinde of spycknes, welles declared vnto the commons of the north, that he was nat contented so fewe were punished, where so many offēded. And as the sicknes plagued them sore, so I thynke god pycked a greate sorte in other countreys, suche as he knew had hartes euyl inough, though their dedes were vnknown. It is not to be left vnspoke, that a generall plague reigntyng in al the north, and in many other parties

AN INVECTIVE

parties of the realme, London, a
citie for the more parte yercely vi-
sited with great deathe, hadde in
maner no syckenesse in it. Lette
other menne laye the cause where
they thinke beste, I do surely sup-
pose, that as god punyshed them
for their treasons, soo he shewed
vnto the Londoners, that the way
to haue hym mercyfull and good,
to theym, is that that they are in,
though not settled, yet a great part
of theym well entred. All be it we
be forgetfull, and haue styll nede
of some, to putte vs in mynde of
goddys goodnesse toward vs, yet
I woll not nowe speke of the tre-
sure whiche he gaue this realme,
what ioye and comforte he sent to
all trewe englyshe men, whan he
sent vnto our soueraigne lord, his
dere and noble sonne, oure deere
and

AYENST TRESON.

and noble prince Edward. I trust
it needith not, I trust there be none
of vs, either so blynde, that we see
not, howe moch Englande oweth
vnto god, for his byrth, for his pre
seruatiō, for such his towardnes,
as was neuer sene in chylde, by al
mens assent the lyke, either so un
grate, but he herynge of this no
ble princis growyng, and waxing
to a kynge, to the sceptre of this
his right inheritance, woll with al
his harte, desyre god both to kepe
hym longe frome the scepter, and
longer in it than euer was his fa
ther befoze hym. I say, I wyl nat
speake of his grace, neither of the
goodnes of god powred vpon vs,
and all ours, by his byrthe. No, I
woll make as foule a chaunge as
euer ye sawe or herde of. I wolle
go from hym (whome the loue to
god

A N I N V E C T I V E

god and his father reserved) we ought to loue, aboue all thynges, and intreate of theym, whome, yf they were alyue, all Englyshmen ought aboue al creatures to hate. And yet I wyl not so gladly talke of theym, as of the goodnesse of god shewid to vs by their occasiō.

Olorde, in what danger hath the kynges hyghnesse bene, these xiii. or xiiii. yeres: For euen al this space, there haue ben in his graces priuie chaumber, that frome tyme to time haue not only vttered the secretes of his counselle and chamber, but also haue practised with his most enemyes, and done what they coulde to hynder his graces godly procedynges: Was it not a syngular prouydence of god, that the Marques of Cretour, was put oute of the prynces cham-

AYENST TRESON.

chaumber, vppon noo deserte, I
thynke at that tyme knowen, but
euen that god put it in the kinges
heed so to do: Is it nat to be mer-
uayled, that he and Edward Re-
uyl, a couple worthy all mennes
hatrede, a couple iopned in trai-
terous intentes, beinge soo longe
togither about his highnes owne
persone, dyd no more hurte: Is it
not more meruayle, that thone be-
inge put out of the priuie chaum-
ber, thother attempted nothinge?
Men that know not the goodnes
of god towarde his electe rulers,
may meruaile at al these thinges,
but let vs laude god for them all,
& assure our selues, that god woll
not suffre a pꝛince, whom he hath
chosen, to greater affaires, than
grosse heedes can attayne vnto,
to be vpolated of his trayterous

AN INVECTIVE

Subiectes. God hath ioyned with the maiestie of a kyng, suche a feare, that false hartes haue noo power, to offce wꝛong to a pꝛince, though all oportunities seme to serue them: wherfoze if we list to meruaill, let vs a litle while intrete of the disclosyng of these tresons.

Sp: Geffrey Pole was comitted to the towꝛe, neyther the kynges hyghnes, noꝛ any of the counsaile suspectyng either the Marques, eyther the loꝛde Montacute his brother, oꝛ sp: Edward Neuyll, of any of al these thynges, that they were founde giltye of. Geffrey beinge in the towꝛe, haupnge his bꝛeste full of wytnesses agaynste him selfe, agaynste his brotherne, ayenst the Marques, was brought into such a thronge of thoughtes, into suche a conflycte of pensiers, that

AYENST TREASON

that bloud and nature, workinge
on thone syde, god & conscience on
thother, he was caried into suche
a perplexitie, that he coulde, nei-
ther condiscende to accuse his bro-
ther, his cousyn sye Edwarde Re-
uyl, and hym selfe, chyeefe of all,
endaungeryng all foure, with the
gylte of treason, no: yet vtterlye
withstande, the workinge of god
and his conscience, within hym:
whiche ofte put in his mynde, ra-
ther to suffer them and hym selfe
to, bodely to be brought to death,
then to goo body and soule to the
deuyl. This motion ranne oft in
his heed, but the dyuell, continu-
all aduersarye to goddis honour
and mans welthe, put in his fote,
and soo toste this wretched soule,
that of many euellles, he chose e-
uen the worst of all, which was a

AN INVECTIVE

ful purpose, to slee hym selfe. The comodities of his death were many, as the dyuel made them to the shewe, his brother shulde liue stil, theyr famylie continue in honour, the lord Marques shoulde haue greate cause to loue all his bloud, whiche hadde kyllled hym selfe to saue him, with many suche fantasies, as desperate menne fynde, to helpe them to theyr ende. He was fully perswaded to slee hym selfe. Desperation hadde wroughte her feate, nowe see howe oportunitie made all thynges redye for hym, his keper was absente, a knyfe at hande vppon the table, he rylethe out of his bed, & taketh the knyfe, and with full intente to dye, gaue hym selfe a stabbe with the knyfe vppon the breste. The deuyl lacketh strength, where god hath a-
nye

AYENST TREASON

ny thinge to do, and can better be-
 gynne thynges, then bynge them
 to effecte. The deuyl had played
 his parte, nowe se howe god, as
 he ofte dothe, tourned all the de-
 uels hole worke, to his gloze, and
 Geffreyes saluation. The knyfe
 was blunte, and so dyd perse: but
 the wounde as god wolde, was
 not mortall, and yet for as moche
 as bloud came after the wounde,
 Geffrey began at the last, to feare
 god, to feare hel, to remember into
 what case the deuyl had brought
 hym, and then beganne to deteste
 the slaughter of hym self, to wishe
 he had opened al to gether, rather
 then to haue losse his bodye and
 soule after that sorte. He nowe be-
 ganne to caste, whiche waye he
 mought apease the wrothe & ven-
 geance of god, redy as he thought

A N I N V E C T I V E

to hurle hym in to hell. He nowe
caste his counte after an nother
sort, drede of deathe whiche as he
thoughte wolde haue folowed the
wounde, beganne to teache him a
new lesson, his brother, his cosen,
sp? Edwarde Reuplle, nowe wait-
ed as moche with hym as they
oughte to do, he sawe before hym
the losse of his soule, and thought
it moche better, they losse they? he-
des: he sawe in what daunger he
shulde leaue his soueraygne lord,
whose benefyttes, beganne nowe
to muster before hym, and the vele
of malpce layde asyde, to tourne
his harte: he sawe the damages,
the slaughters, that myght come
to his countrey: he sawe it not pos-
sible, that god shuld be any thing
good to hym, whiche shulde con-
ceale the destruction of soo many.

In

AYENST TREASON

In so moche that now he, which
wolde haue dyed, to saue his bro-
therne and cousyn, despyed life, for
no cause so moche, as y^e he might
brynge them to that they had de-
serued: and therupon of his own
mynde, no man requirynge hym
to it, no manne thynkynge of any
suche thynge, he despyed to speake
with the lieutenant of the toure,
and after to speake with some of
the kinges priuie counsell, to whom
whan they came, he as a man styl-
lokynge whan the wounde shuld
haue ended his lyfe, disclosed all
the hole treasons. Thus the dy-
uels subtyl prouision of the knife,
of his beinge alone, of perswa-
ding him to abuse the knife to his
distruction, vtterlye deceiued the
dyuell, all his gynnes, al his craf-
tis, now being turned ayenst hym
selfe,

AN INVECTIVE

selfe all the hurt that might haue
come to his aduersaries, god and
those that loue and seke his gloze,
nowe redoundyng vpon his own
heed, wylle ye haue a sure token,
that this is the worke of god: ye
haue herde of the message, which
Reynold sent to his brethren, that
is, & they in no wyse shulde sturre
vntyll his comyng. ye may know,
who was authoꝝ of so godly a mes-
sage. who but the deuil, authoꝝ of
al dissention, al rebellion, all trea-
son, could be either of counsell with
him that sente suche a message, oꝝ
with theym that wolde kepe it se-
crete. If he were thautoꝝ of it, thā
coude he nat be the vtterer of it
also: his kyngedome must nedes
falle, if he fyght apenst hym selfe.
God, god brought it to lyghte, as
one that hath taken vpon hym to
defende

AYENST TREASON

defende his trewe and faithfulle
 minstre, kyng Henry the eight.
 God hath disclosed all, byngge su-
 che wayes, that all menne maye
 knowe, it is onely he, that coulde
 do suche a thinge. A man wolde
 thynke it vnpossyble, that where
 no force, no violence, no tourmen-
 tes are vsed, fleshe, bloudde, and
 nature coulde suffer one brother
 to byngge the other to his deathe.
 Some woll say, he lacked no tor-
 mentes, as longe as he had trefon
 waltrynge in his hart. A traitour
 whether he be so taken or nat, can
 lacke no scourginge, whan he is
 mooste alone. He hath his whyppe
 in his bosom, and playeth the tor-
 mentour him selfe for lacke of an
 officer. I wol not say, but Gessrey
 Pole, felt suche tormentes, no I
 must nedes grāt, he was shrewdly
 scourged

AN INVECTIVE

scourged, that thought it an ease
to rydde hym selfe of it by dethe.
They be of lyke no small peynes,
that make the pacient glad to flee
his body, and damne his soule for
the arrydance of thē. But yet as I
sayd, he had no outwarde tormē-
tis, no racking, no manicles, no he
was put in fere of none of al these
peines, but enforced by god, as I
take it, and as he hym selfe sayde
at the barre it was, frankely vtte-
red, not onely ayenste his brother
and coulyn, but ayenste suche, as
whan they came to the barre, grā-
ted them selfis giltie, without any
verdite of quest. But of these last,
I wyl nothing speake, all be it I
take them to be as worthy eternal
infamy as the fyrst, but great men
of byrth, bicause blode is disteined
by trefon, & their family taken fro
them,

AYENST TRESON.

them, at those that ought to be set forth in theyr colours. It is I saye again, a wonder to se, one brother bring an other (moche loue being betwene them, and no cause of hatred) to his deathe. It were a wonder surely, if one had not taken the matter in hande, whiche can when hym lust, bothe vanquish the nature, and treade the deuyl with his hole power vnder his fete. They two kepte those treasons vnder locke and key. God is and euer hath be lord of nature, conquerer of the deuyl, and can compel both when hym lusteth, to set forth his gloze. But now, where we see, whose goodnes it is, that treasons are known, and traytours made awaye, lette vs not forgette to geue hym thanks, that thus waketh, and in maner wayteth, to saue vs harme.

AN INVECTIVE

harmeles. Is it possible, that a mā
 not forced, shoulde sweare vppon a
 boke, hym selfe to be a traytour,
 hym selfe of al men to be most wo:
 thy deathe. Syr Geoffrey hath ofte
 taken this othe, So hath Croftes
 and Colyns also: the other, all the
 tyme of theyr arraignment, stode
 styffe, with castyng vp of eies and
 handes, as though those thynges
 had ben neuer herd of before, that
 thenne were laide to theyr charge.
 The Marques, of al the rest stak
 hardest, and made as though he
 had ben very clere in many poyntes,
 yet in some he staggered, and
 was very soyr so to do, nowe cha:
 langyng the kynges pardon, nowe
 takynge benefytte of the acte, and
 when al wolde not serue, he began
 to charge Geoffrey Pole with fren:
 sye, with foly, and madnesse. It is
 moche

AYENST TRESON.

moche to be noted, what answere
Geffrey made to the Marques in
this poynte. Some men, say the
Geffreye (as I here) laye to my
charge, that I shulde be out of my
wytte, and in a frensy. Trowth it
is, I was out of my wytte, and in
a great frenesy, when I fell with
theym in conference, to be a tray-
tour, disobediente to god, false to
my pryncce, and enenye to my na-
tue countraye. I was also out of
my wytte, and stryken with a soze
kynde of madnesse, when I chose
rather to kil my self, thā to charge
thē with such trespases, as I knewe
wolde coste them theyr lyues, if I
dyd vtter them. But our lord be
thanked, god wrought better with
me, then I thought to haue doone
with my selfe. He hath saued my
soule at the leste, the knyfe wente
nat

AN INVECTIVE

not so farre as I wolde haue had
it gone: his goodnes it is, that I
haue not slayne my selfe: his mer-
cy, that I was deliuered frome
that frenshe of kyllinge my selfe:
his worke, that I haue declared
my self, my brother, the Marques,
with the rest, to be traytours. And
where I thought, said Gessrey, ra-
ther to haue putte my soule in ha-
sarde, for the sauing of these men,
god I thanke hym, so wrought in
me, and so chaunged my mynde,
that if I had had tenne brotheren,
yea tenne sonnes, I wolde rather
brynge them all to this perylle of
deathe, than leaue my countrey,
my souerayne lord, and myn owne
soule in suche daunger, as they al
the stode in, if I had kepte these
treasons secrete. Let vs, lette vs
dye, we be but a felwe, better we
haue

AYNST TREASON.

haue accordynge to our deserttes,
thā our hole cōtrey to be brought
to ruyne. O what a lord is god,
whom can a traytour trust, whan
one brother is so despyrefull to vt-
ter an others treason: yea whan
traytour hym selfe, no man com-
pelling hym, vttereth his own tre-
son? whom may we trust, whā we
our selues, despyre to disclose oure
selues? Treson can not lye longer
hyd, thā while it ripeth, for yf it be
ones melowe, the sauour streight,
for the moste parte, bewrayeth the
howde. Geffrey hath neuer bene
taken for any plesant or sage tal-
ker, his witte was wont to serue
his tong but so so. I dare say, they
that were the wisest of the kingis
moste honourable counsaile, dyd
moch wōder that day, to here him
tel his tale, and loked for nothyng

f

lesse

AN INVECTIVE

lesse, than that he shulde haue soo
handlyd him selfe. God is a mer-
uayllous god, he can make bothe
whan him lust, and whom he wol
eloquēt, wise, pithie. He can make
the tōges of the domine serue his
elect, whan his wyl is. The Mar-
ques was styffe at the barre, and
stode faste in denial of most thin-
ges layd to his charge, yet in som
he foyled and staggerde, in suche
sorte, that all menne might see his
countenance, to auouch that, that
his tonge could nat without mo-
che foltring deny. But at the scaf-
folde, whan he sawe, mens othes,
with a multitude of wytnesses ta-
ken, and his sturdy denyall not to
saue his lyfe, he began eyther to
wave dyshonour lesse than he dyd
at the barre, or els to thynke, that
dishonour standith in doing trai-
trously

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

trously, rather than in confelſyng
of it, whan it is known to be ſo,
deathe at hande, taught him and
his felowes, to prouyde for the
ſafetie of their ſoules, and to leue
the regard of honour there on the
ſcaffolde with their bodieſ. They
dyd all thze acknowledge their of-
fences towarde the kinge, and de-
ſyzed all men that were there pre-
ſent, to pray god to forgyue them.
They be gone, our lord I truſte,
which gaue them repentance, wol
alſo take them to his mercy, and
yet ſaue their ſoules. The thinge
they feared, is come vppon them,
they might not tary the tyme, they
plowed treaſon, they ſowed ſedy-
tion, noo meruayle yf they reape
deathe. wherfoze let vs, whyche
in one houre, haue eſcaped ſo ma-
ny ſorowes, ſo preſent calamities,

AN INVECTIVE

so imminent mischeues, saye as
Judith sayd, whan she retourned
with Holofernes his heed in her
lappe, Laude and praise be giuen
to the lord, that forsaketh not them
that put their trust in the. Let him
be glorified for euer of vs, that
bucalled is thus preast and redye
to defend them that were nigh the
brynke of pardicion, and sawe it
not, vntyll he plucked them by the
sleue. Hitherto ye haue hard, how
traytrously these vnnatural trai-
tours enteded, you haue sene how
the goodnes of god, as wel nowe,
as in many other thynge, hath
preserued the kynges hyghnes, &
brought his enemies to shameful
death, now this thinge remaineth
alone, what cause coulde moue
them, that were so moche bounde
to the? lord and mayster, to fall
into

AYENST TREASON.

into such horrible treasons. He li-
ueth not. I dare say that can finde
any iuste cause for any subiecte to
be a traytour to his soueraygne
lorde. And I am well assured, all
men that haue any spot of hone-
stie in them, wol thinke these wor-
thy to be taken for traytours, yf
they had but ones thoughte hurte
vnto his personne, of whom they
had receyued so many benefyttes.
There is no cause, yet me thin-
keth I fynd one, whiche although
it be not iuste, yet is it of suche
strength and efficacie, that it can
worke almoste no lesse then it dyd
in these. I say and thynke, who so
euer is of theyr opiniõ in matters
of relygyon, that he can loue the
kyniges hyghnes, noo better then
they dyd. who so is a papiste, an
enemye to goddis worde, he may
well

AN INVECTIVE

well lacke power, or stomacke, to
 vtter treason, but he can not lacke
 a trayterous hart. what so euer he
 be, that thynketh the byshoppe of
 Rome supreme hed of our church
 of Englande, can neuer beare the
 kynge suche an harte, as a trewe
 subiecte oweth his souerain lord.
 No, I saye more, he can in no case
 loue his highnes, he can not chose
 but be a traytour. It is to be so-
 rowed and lamented greatly, that
 noble men woll thus fondely caste
 them selues away, great wonder,
 greater pitie, and greatest shame,
 that they, hauing the word of god
 in theyr owne tonge, woll not yet
 lerne, what a kynge is, and what
 a byshop, what lordes owe vnto
 thone, and what they may requyre
 of thother. My purpose was to
 haue handled a good sorte of pla-
 ces,

A Y E N S T T R E A S O N .

res, whiche I haue gathered out
of the scripture, & doctours both,
makynge for the mayntenance of
the kynges supremtye, and also
shakynge downe that arrogante
and vsurped power of the bisshop
of Rome. I had soo done, but that
I sawe this booke, some what with
the longest, and well perceyued, &
thother wold haue ben moch lon-
ger, then this is. I haue differred
it for a while, but god wyllynge, I
woll as sone as I can, for the ser-
uice I owe vnto nobilitie, and the
rest my contrey men, followe that
whiche god wyl pꝛycke me to,
thoughe feble wyt and weake po-
wer drawe neuer so fast backe. In
the meane season, I humblye be-
seche all men, so to take these my
labours, that I maye with cou-
rage set vpon thother, whiche as
they

A N I N V E C T I V E

they woll be moche greater, so my
truste is, they shall be moche more
profytable. They maye so be, and
shall so be, if it please hym, whiche
worketh all that well is wrought,
vnto whom be all honour, al glo-
rye, for ever and ever. Amen.



Londini in ædibus Thomæ Berthe-
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dum solum.

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